an item will canvass a number of shops, inquiring into 437
its price, until she finds what she believes to be the
lowest, nothing more than the "comparison shopping" of the
European or American housewife, and without bargaining.
This does not mean that foreigners will not be overcharged.
In the summer of 1951 the price of a khanjir or dagger was 435
fixed at the unbelievable sum of three dinars (a much more
elaborate example of the same weapon costs about one sixth
of this price in Baghdad or Damascus) due to the indiscreet
outcry of an American visitor, and neither bargaining nor
ruse could bring it down again. It was immutably established
that Americans pay three dinars for their khanjirs, and
one was constantly balked by persons offering the merchant
specimens in the hopes of realizing that price. Prices are,
within certain limits, geared to the social status of the
purchaser, and the prisoners, for example, might be ex-
pected to pay more for a given commodity than another. In
a small town of this sort, however, while prices are un-
controlled, public opinion and the facility with which one
merchant will undersell another, set up strong limitations,
and the difference between "asking price" and "selling
price" is apt to be insignificant.

There is extensive daily cooperation among merchants. 443
If a customer, for example, wished to buy six tea-glasses 476
from a certain shopkeeper and only four were on hand, the
latter would send his boy down the street to borrow what
was required from another merchant. The same is true of
money, and sending a large banknote may involve any number

of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither 443
bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a [476]
merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up [453]
in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter [454]
practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the
merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a
liraq or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer.
A number of the older men are illiterate, and the diffi- 451
culties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. [212]
Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople [574]
some courses along these lines at night, and were very
surprised at their popularity. The graybeards learning [522]
their arithmetic is still considered a great joke. Usually
the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to
prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums,
and many place high expectations in the help of their sons
at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of 463
the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient
here to provide a list of persons according to their
occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of
these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still
others employed only in the service of those residing in
the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a
complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations
of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough
to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

each house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 dinars (almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital as this involved, building is a serious business and litigations between owner and mason appear frequently before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller constructions Rowanduz seems to have little "communalism," for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction will be found in the succeeding section. There is one person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of uncut stone, these last used for thresholds, courtyards, steps, and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened, are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are manufactured in the town. There is no special place for brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of Isma'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces, usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat, irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily

advise or scold their employers.

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalid Beg," a commander of the "government tribe."

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in

[171] ...wages from the work at the Oxbow dams, water ramblers, sandglasses, salt varnish, lighters, wash boulders, tire-openers, and grasshoppers.

[342] [349] A space small house in the village of Sakiba has been chosen as an example of the home round the life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it demolished, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the only room of the house was used as a behind store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the entrance side, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

[184] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Sakiba peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this cellar—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Cross is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[1]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit to the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the canvas, circular iron sheet, saj or abra, on which the bread sheets, ash, was baked were placed on the fire. The modern bee-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water source—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The better in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheepdog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

[342] [184] [342] [352] [358] [312] [347] [513]

Fig. 14. Baking implements: table (E. 2311), rolling pin (E. 2307), baking pillow (E. 2345), and iron spoon (E. 2341). Small wooden spoon for serving (E. 2346) and wooden ladle for shaping (E. 2344).

252 oven, *mesiir*[14], or on an iron sheet, *tabsi*[15] or *saj*. In both cases the women, who squats on the floor, uses a low baking table, *pirar*[16], cut out in one piece from a large block of wood producing a thick, rectangular sheet with rounded corners and a slightly convex surface, supported by four short legs or blocks narrowing towards the floor (E. 2661, sheet 0.360 × 0.230, height 0.07 m. – E. 2345, sheet 0.50 – 0.42, height 0.10 m.).

[illegible] When baking in the earth oven several women, as a rule three, work together[17]. The lumps of dough are rolled out with a rolling pin, a thin wooden stick about 70 cm. in length, only (E. 2302)[18], decreased at both ends by 6–7 incised lines all round. The two women use this implement to roll the dough into quite thin pancakes. During this process the sheet of dough is often lifted from the baking table by means of the stick, more flour being strewn on the surface before the dough is put back to be rolled out still thinner. The skill of the women was evinced in proportion to the thinness to which they could roll out the dough.

The dough is then lifted up, hanging over the stick, and placed on the "baking pillow", *mesde* (?), which is shaped like a thick, rectangular pillow and made of cloth. On the one side is an opening

511
415
334
831
211
415

Fig. 19. [illegible]

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with sons and married boys on the back. Cattle dung collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the house. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in succession. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task in Bekhte was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various houses in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the house and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Bekhte the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sokkhauli it was baked in [illegible] on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman after arrival at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earthen oven that was hot for the day. The 6-7 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but some of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality than the Sokkhauli bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this valley. After a leftward daily from outside, there is no [illegible] to be got in relation to livelihood from the city by one of the lads, carried home on his head, stood under the pump, and placed in the platter. The normal consumption of fighter—about 10 grams—was [illegible] cooking stove. (2) curds—is brought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. The 6 maids by the oldest wife. The consumption fell too are disintegrating: the grinder stone has replaced the iron hooks and [illegible] mixture, the beaten the finger hand.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. [illegible] is made specially by the husband[illegible] over a low charcoal basin. There is no [illegible] of water as good meaningful water is [illegible] on, with several taps.

When needed, [illegible] could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were brought in the city by the husband and delivered by an errand boy. Cooking was often done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, welcome to the village ladies, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and trodding. It is put into sacks, finished together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded to the hall, washed by the women of the home, and carried up to the roof to dry, on wrapped cloths for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being sent from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain-dealer woman summoned for the purpose. The dissected grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the home. Drinking of chylos and tending take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the [illegible] of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within one room or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.